1: Karsten--504-505 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 823, 153 (1928-29)

"Whereas the astronomy, meteorology, and mineralogy of the Jibaros is thus to a great extent mixed up with superstition, their geographical knowledge is also very limited. They practically only know about the territory inhabited by the Jibaro tribes, and have most confused ideas about other parts of the South American continent, and still more of course about the world outside it. They know that there are other Indian tribes, in language and customs differing from the Jibaro people, but they interest them less even as enemies. They also distinguish the Indian race as a whole from the white race, but not even this distinction is a radical one. According to their idea even the whites have once been Jibaros; they are therefore called apachi, i.e. forefathers. There [505]is properly only one human race, namely, the Jibaro race. It is characteristic in this respect that the Jibaros asked me whether in my country also there are 'Indians' (shuara). They also asked me whether in my country there are equally big forests and rivers, and the same animals as in theirs. It was impossible for me to give the Indians a right conception about an ocean and the enormous distance which separates Europe from the New World."

"With more reason we can speak of Indian Science when we enter the domain of their knowledge concerning animals and plants. This is a department of nature where that wonderful power of observation best shows itself which everywhere is one of the chief mental characteristics of man in his natural state. Life has here been the master of the Indians; it is the struggle for existence that has compelled them to acquire a thorough knowledge of the habits and qualities of different animal beings and the properties of plants. The whole of nature has been carefully scrutinized by them for the purpose of finding out what it can offer man in the way of food. They have tried everything, and they can unfailingly tell you whether for instance a certain animal or bird can be eaten, and how it affects the health. Nor is there any animal being so insignificant that it has not a native name; any boy can tell you the name of that or that small insect crawling on the ground. Their ideas as to which animals are edible and which not are, [sic] however, in some cases peculiar; in this respect they have sometimes been led astray by their superstitions. Thus when deer's flesh is never eaten because the deer is regarded as an evil demon, it is difficult to find any real foundation for this aversion. In most cases, however, the superstitions of the Indians have an underlying stratum of reality. 'Superstitious' ideas are as a rule entertained of such animal beings as are in some way harmful. Thus when the flesh of the tapir is taboo as food in the same way

as [506] that of the deer, this bias is not wholly without foundation, considering that the eating of the flesh of the tapir may in some cases have harmful effects. Even the whites in Eastern Ecuador assert that uncautious eating of it may cause a sort of fever. The same hold true of the flesh of many other animals and of certain fish. That for instance the fat flesh of the domestic swine and of certain other animals may cause indigestion and other kinds of sickness, is a well-known fact which has by no means escaped the Indians. We can thus easily understand why swine's flesh is regularly taboo as food when the Indian man or woman is, or is believed to be, in some critical condition. Taking native customs as a whole into account, I should say that what we call 'superstition' has to a great extent been the teacher of the Indians and, being founded on actual experience, given them valuable guidance in their practical life, although on the other hand the exaggerations to which it has led are obvious. The same will appear to hold true of their medicines."

2: Stirling--105[2] (1930-1931) 1936 Jivaro
116, 224, 153

"The Jivaro is at his best when hunting in the forest. His knowledge of the habits of the game animals, his keen ears and eyes, his ability to imitate the calls of animals and birds, all contribute to his success in the hunt. Where a white man could walk through the forest without being aware of any game in the vicinity, the Indian is constantly aware of the presence of birds and animals and is able to tell from the sounds just what varieties they might be..

A common Jivaro method of hunting is to construct in a suitable location a blind made of palm leaves in which the hunter sits quietly with his blowgun, from time to time repeating the calls of certain birds or animals so that the game will come to him instead of his pursuing the game. Great patience is exhibited in this form of hunting, and as a rule is rewarded by success."

4: Up de Graff--191-192 (1897) 1923 Rivers-I
116, 153, 221, 624

"We were flooded out by the human tide. They clambered into the dugout, delved into everything they could lay hands on, and behaved generally like a crowd of school children to whom the free run of a candy store had been given. They chattered, grinned and gesticulated; they held our trumpery trade-beads up to the light and tried the effect of wearing them; they gazed spell-bound into the hand-mirrors which we had rightly regarded as one of our strongest lines; and finally they were completely overwhelmed by the shoddy striped cotton shirts which the favoured few among the men donned with all the exquisite satisfaction which a youth fresh from school experiences when first he puts on a 'swallow-tail.'

So the ice was broken. But no conversation had taken [192] place as yet, for conversation was impossible. We found that the language spoken by the Antipas was quite unintelligible to us, and that Inca, the only Indian tongue I knew, was unknown to them. Progress was made, however, in the sign-language which is common, to a greater or lesser degree, to all men. They made it clear to us that they wanted a token to send to their chief, a sign whereby the truth of their incredible report of the arrival of white men in the land might be impressed on him; seeing us using machetes they seized on them as serving their purpose well. Three they sent by special envoy to the Chief, and three more they sent a little way down-stream to a point where there was a trail along which he might be expected to pass if the envoy missed him; there the machetes were stuck into the earth as we pile arms in the field. He would be sure to see them, and would be put

on his guard.

And so we sat down to await his arrival."

4: Up de Graff--194-195 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 304, 153

"They are given to tattooing themselves, but only to a limited extent. They mark their limbs with simple little designs--a cross, or a circle, or a wavy line; they never indulge in the showy designs of races such as the Japanese who have brought this form of ornamentation to a high art. The process is simple. With a thorn they prick the required pattern on their skins, drawing blood; they then hold a lighted piece of crude rubber under the prepared area until it becomes well sooted from the black smoke given off by the rubber; finally, they rub the soot into the wounds, and blue marks similar to powder burns are left in the skin. Where they learned this art, I do not know; it would, as a matter of fact, appear to be indigenous. The contrary being the case, they would be more likely to make it a universal practice and to show signs of an exterior influence. When called upon by the medicine-man (the Antipas, as far as I could discover, only had one) to tattoo him with some distinctive design, the first thing which occurred to me was the [195] Psi Upsilon badge of the fraternity to which I belong. If any of my fraternity-brothers ever make their way to those parts, they will probably be greeted by a large and flourishing new Chapter (let us call it the 'Pongo Chapter'), for the idea appealed to the tribe so strongly that, within a few months, the design had been copied with considerable skill by quite an appreciable number of warriors. I assured their chief that should he meet any 'member of my own tribe' and show him the sign which he carried on his arm he would be received with open arms and greeted as a brother. Incidentally, we happened to leave a packet of the well-known 'L. L. F.' brand of cigarette papers

lying about; shortly after, we found an excellent replica of the three letters tattooed on a savage; while we were there, we noticed quite a few who had joined the Lamda Lamda Phi's." [sic]

4: Up de Graff--247-248 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 484, 153, 437

"To return to my tale, then, the canoemen had to go. But we were determined that they should not carry off with them the wage which they had done so little (and that little so very unwillingly) to earn. It would be a bad precedent to set, for, if ever we had occasion to need their services or those of any other of their tribe again, we should start at a disadvantage if they thought they could fool us, as they certainly did, despite our precautions.

We made them build us a shack that evening on the island, and next morning a permanent shelter on the mainland, in which to cache part of our stores against our return, being unable to paddle so great a weight up-stream without their help. They all worked hard and with a good will, for freedom would be theirs within a few hours. Then we broke the news to them that they must return their axes and machetes, having failed to keep their contract. After the usual pow-pow they were handed over. It was not so peaceable a transaction as it might have been, for we had to hold them up with our rifles before we could make them give up our property. And then they went. [248]

It was not till they had been gone two hours or more that we had the idea of opening our cases of stores to see that all was in order. Half the axes and machetes and three-quarters of the poison had gone. Now the boxes and cases in which they were carried were purposely fastened with long screws, the secret of which we had not thought that any savage would discover. But, too late, it dawned on us that I myself had been indiscreet enough to open a box one day when that old thief Pitacunca was looking on. So, day by

day, as we had been pushing up the Santiago, more and more stores were carefully extracted (the Jívaros using the very machetes we had given them as screw-drivers in just the same way as I did myself) and cached as we travelled along in the heavy verdure which lines the banks of that river. So it happened that they drew ten times the pay they had contracted for, after all. It was too late to do anything in the way of revenge. Had we had a speed launch at hand, we might have caught those stalwart robbers, but hardly otherwise. They must have reached home in one day's paddling. We never saw Pitacunca again.

The loss of that fine poison which Morse and Iberico had gone to such pains to obtain in the Huallaga River and bring along with the Exploradora, rankled in our minds for many a long day, aggravated by the thoughts of the sweet revenge which we could have taken, had we known in time, by appropriating that fine canoe in which the Jívaros escaped and turning them loose to their own devices on the bank."

10: Anthony--150 [4] (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 224, 153

"The men are hunters of the highest order, and are keen observers of all that takes place in the jungle about them. They penetrate the thickest tangle, using game trails wherever they find them; the bear makes many a highway for these hunters. They never get lost and their highly developed sense of direction enables them to point back at any time toward a given place, such as the camp they left in the morning. This ability is known to those whites who occasionally penetrate into 'Jivaría.' Sometimes a white man, wishing to test their powers, will ask them at different times to point out the direction to camp or to a certain river, thereby earning the supreme contempt of the Jivaro, who thinks that any fool should know such simple matters."

10: Anthony--150-152 (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 153, 825

"The Jivaros have a specific name for practically every bird and mammal to be seen about them and, when our skinning table was piled up with specimens for the day's work, one of them would unhesitatingly name each animal. If a test was made on a later date with a bird or mammal of the same species, the designation previously used was invariably applied, proving that these names were not made up on the spot. [152]

On one occasion, Mr. Cherrie had shot an olive-backed thrush, a sober-colored species that nests in North America and migrates southward in the winter, and consequently not one of the birds strictly belonging to the region. A Jivaro who was going over the birds and naming them promptly singled out the thrush and said in substance: 'This bird is a foreigner. He visits us only in the winter and does not nest here.' An instance of this sort implies the keenest sort of observation, because the Jivaro must meet with from two to three hundred distinct varieties of birds, most of the smaller species of which have at best little value to him as food and consequently are of but minor importance. The birds of brighter color are often killed so that they may be attached as ornaments to the ceremonial necklaces, headbands, etc. that are worn in the dances."

13: Rivet--254 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 153

The Jíbaro is one of the most intelligent Indians of South America, when alcohol and natema have not exerted their disastrous influence upon him. Simson reports in detail the conversation that he had with a member of the Canelos tribe to whom he spoke in detail concerning the roundness of the earth, and the civilization of western peoples. He insists upon the interest that his listener took in this account (1). The missionaries praise the vivacity, roguishness, and open minds of the children. To this intelligence, the Jíbaro adds an irresistable passion for liberty. Absolute master in his family, without strict obligation toward his tribe, he intends to stay independent in the territory that he considers his own domain. Exile is powerless to change the state of the savage's soul: young Jíbaros, taken in infancy from the influence of their environment, raised in Ecuadorian cities, upon arriving at adult age dream only of returning to their forests, and soon lose all impressions from their stay in civilized country.

The history of this fierce tribe, like the customs of its members, is dominated by this spirit of independence, developed to an instinctive state.

1. Simson, op. cit., pp. 392-393.

13: Rivet--254-255 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 153, 609

Horror of all subjection gives the Jíbaro a great distrust of the White. Experience has shown him that he has as much to fear from the White as from his worst enemies, and his first thought is to suspect all individuals of bad intentions toward him. Simson relates the difficulty that his companion, M. Sarkady, had in photographing two Indians because they were sure the operator carried away their souls with the plate which retained their features (1). But this mistrust, wholly natural and legitimate, quickly changes into excessive and often importune trust. Once his fears are calmed, the Jíbaro allows his curiosity free reign, and attracted by all the new objects that he sees, he asks about their use, which he immediately verifies himself, touching everything, trying [255] everything, even putting on your clothes; the smallest object attracts him and charms him, exciting his covetousness. It is easy to see how, by using these easily-aroused childish desires, white traders are able to procure at low prices the precious products of the forest. An Ecuadorian told me he had persuaded an Indian to prepare for him an entire human skin in the same manner as the tsantsas, in exchange for a bad gun.

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1. Simson, op. cit., page 392.

The unhappy missionary is not the dupe of his neophytes in this point of view alone. The Jívaro is intelligent; he has become aware very quickly of all the advantages that an apparent conversion can bring to him; he has understood that by undergoing certain inoffensive acts and perhaps useful ones, he easily obtains from the priests many objects which the white merchants sell to him very expensively; and in order to receive presents, he does not hesitate to come to claim baptism many times; this custom has reached such a point that now the missionaries only administer this sacrament on condition. The stock of gifts depleted, the savages make it clear to the priest that there is nothing for him to do but leave, and if he stays, it is they who leave (1). "For the Jívaro, religion is a game, he makes himself a Christian if you give him three meters of worthless cloth and, in a frenzy of enthusiasm, asks for baptism ten and twenty times, although he has already been baptized as many times, then with the greatest impiety, denying the religion which he so enthusiastically embraced, he soon kills his enemy whom he meets, kills his own wife in a moment of anger and asks three or four Indian girls in marriage (2)." I find the same opinion and the same complaint coming just

1. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Fifth letter, page 40.
2. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Fifth letter, page 38.

recently from the pen of Salesien (3).

Here, where the more experienced and ardent missionaries of the 18th century have failed, the friars of our time have little chance for success.

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3. Bulletin salesien, August 1907, page 102.

18: Hermessen--448 [3] (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 153, 266

"Despite the low level of their development, the Jíbaros of the Zamora, like those of other parts of the province of Oriente, are by no means an unintelligent people, and in the conditions of their simple life they are valorous, faithful, and industrious. The Jíbaros are not, and never have been, cannibals. Their barbaric art of shrinking and conserving the heads of enemy chiefs slain in war has no connection with anthropophagy."

20: Dyott-162-163 (no date) 1926 Jivaro-1
116, 153, 224

"Kuashu was now a bundle of bulging muscles, a steel spring wound up ready to fly loose. He made a stealthy movement to one side, and putting a hand over his mouth, mimicked the peculiar chattering noise these animals make when disturbed. Almost immediately an answering call came from the green canopy overhead, and the rustle of leaves heralded the approach of some living creature. In a few moments a full-sized woolly monkey came swinging through the trees, peering about him and looking this way and that for the member of his family he supposed to be in difficulty. For a fraction of a second his dark body could [163] be seen clearly, leaping across an open gap in the tree-tops. This was Kuashu's chance, and he did not miss it. The blow-gun was already at his lips, and at the psychological moment a tiny dart was launched on its silent mission of death.

For a second the monkey wavered, then leapt to another branch, jumped once more, but this time lost his hold and dropped ten feet before regaining his equilibrium. He steadied himself to take yet another leap, but hesitated as if his limbs refused to obey him. Again he braced himself, but the end had come; his hold loosened, and he fell dead to the ground. The aim had been perfect; the tiny wood splinter had caught him on the shoulder, and the deadly poison which produced paralysis of the heart had done the rest.

A fairly animated conversation ensued. The monkey was passed from hand to hand,

each man admiring its thick, woolly coat and examining its strong prehensile tail, the extremity of which, on its under surface, was covered with a hard skin, like the palm of its hand. Everyone satisfied, the quarry was turned over to Chingasso to carry, and we resumed our prowl in silence."

20: Dyott--163-164
116, 153, 224

(no date) 1926

Jivaro

"Not long after this episode, we came out on one of those boulder-strewn spaces near the river which, at one time or another, had been occupied by the scurrying waters of the Upano. We halted as usual to look about for signs of animal life, but the place was deserted and only a few shrubs waved their green foliage vacantly in the wind. We were about to take ourselves off when a small red deer broke cover on the opposite side. It saw us and immediately sprinted across the open. We-suma had his spear up in a jiffy, ready to hurl it through space at the rapidly-moving animal; but Kuashu was still quicker in getting into action. Quick as a flash, he seized a large rock, swung it over his head, and let fly with the power of a [164] catapult. The missile went sailing through the air and landed squarely on the animal's head, dropping him like a stone.

'Ihuta-Ihuta' (spear him) shouted Himbikti, rushing forward in a frenzy of excitement, and brandishing his weapon. But there was no need for such a measure. The stone had broken the deer's neck.

Things happen so quickly at times that it is difficult to take in details, especially an incident like this, which was all over in a matter of seconds. Johnston and myself gaped in astonishment. Kuashu's brilliant exhibition of skill, the precision with which the rock was flung through the air, and the sudden termination of the fray, left us speechless with admiration. Without fire-arms, what chance would a white man have in conflict with such people as these?"

25: Vigna--36 [2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 153

Nature has been prodigal in physiological elements necessary to the Jíbaro in his environment, but it has been almost miserly with him in intellectual and volitional faculties. The Jíbaro has a keen visual sense and a perfect auditive sense; one might almost say that nature outdid herself in the delicacy and extraordinary form of these two senses in the Jíbaro. The other three senses are rather dull. These are compensated by what we might call the sixth sense--the sense of "orientation." Set down in the middle of the forest, the Jíbaro, after a short period of reflection and observation, is able to orientate himself perfectly towards his destination. Volitional faculties are still embryonic, and when instinct or necessity is not operating upon the Jíbaros, mimicry and impressionability triumph.

25: Vigna--36 [3] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 153

The peculiar circumstances of the environment have obliged this people (assuming that it is an immigrating people) to base their effort at adaptation on renunciation. This is the reason why the Jíbaro today lives without aspiration or special necessities except for the ineluctable demands of a still primitive life. As an almost inevitable consequence, the Jíbaro displays a retirement from and a repugnance for all that implys any alteration in his routinary life, or any physical or moral force unusual for him.

25: Vigna --46 [3] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 177, 609, 153

The relations of the Jîbaros with white people are characterized by friendship and opportunism. They admire the white civilization and imitate whatever appears suitable to them. It is a pity that they generally admire the vices and not the virtues. Through his contact with white civilization the Jîbaro has learned to lie, to intoxicate himself with liquor and to steal.

The work of the Catholic and Christian Missionaries among them proceeds slowly, and the Catholic Missionaries have chosen by preference to dedicate themselves to the education and evangelization of the new generations.

The Indians are very intelligent and mentally alert. They showed great interest in the unfamiliar. Due to language difficulties we were unable to converse with them, and yet, they sensed instinctively what we wanted, and they seemed to be able to read our thoughts and to guess our wishes. I was struck by the thirst of knowledge on the part of some boys, 8-12 years of age, and after I had satisfied their eagerness for learning, they tried to enlighten me concerning the facts that were of their immediate concern. It is a pity that these poor people are not subjected to a better civilizing influence than that which rubber dealers are able to give, for one can hardly say that the rubber collectors are especially suited for this task. It is highly doubtful whether the missionaries act as a civilizing force. For an Indian who has been baptized may have been received in the pale of the church, but he is still a long way from civilization. On the contrary, upon becoming a Christian he hastens to do away with his good character features and to adopt the vices of civilization. During our return trip a number of older boys were baptized by an Augustine monk who accompanied us. But I had the impression that their fathers were chiefly prompted to this step by the gifts (such as large colored handkerchieves and glass pearls) which the monks offered.

Though it seems rather hazardous to make a statement on their intellectual capacity after such a short stay among the Indians, I feel that I should not be completely silent on the subject. I gained the impression that the Indians in general are rather alert. I noticed this especially in the case of youngsters at the age of from 5 to 8 years. I can assure you that some of them were like mind readers when it came to our wishes. When they pass into the age of puberty, they become more reserved. They showed the greatest interest for all objects which they had never seen before, and they were eager to know how these objects were to be used. They exhibited a childlike joy when I permitted them to look through my Zeiss fieldglass, which brought the distant objects near.

28: Tessman--363-364 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 153, 177

The character of the Chiwaros differs somewhat from that of the average Indian, but it is by no means better. Certain good character traits may be present, such as a good perceptive faculty or a greater vivacity and industriousness. But these good character traits are overshadowed by the [364] overwhelming bloodthirstyness, trickery, and deceitfulness of these Indians. By means of a prolonged severe education it might be possible to raise the level of these Indians, perhaps to a level above the other Indians, but I doubt that this will happen, since this education cannot become effective until all Chiwaros, through causes of a different nature, have become the victims of steadily advancing civilization. At the moment, however, one cannot even think that this bloodthirsty group will ever be tamed, since neither the Peruvian nor the Ecuadorian governments show the slightest inclination to carry out energetic measures against the Chiwaros. A strict military supervision over a period of several decades would be the basis for it; to this should be added a friendly, just, and absolutely social regulation of the barter commerce, so that all exploitation will be ruled out. But this is asking for too much in South America! The whole situation is aggrevated by the fact that the borderline between Ecuador and Peru has not yet been established, and the Indians are therefore between two hostile camps. Rivet mentions the Indian treacherousness, and he says that the missionaries have been unsuccessful. The Chiwaros let themselves be baptized several times in order to gain material advantages.

Karsten (Blood Revenge etc., p. 8) calls the Chiwaros impulsive and choleric.